592 family. As long as they constitute a single kê, or "family," a man
354 and his brothers and sons will always use the same stove, but as soon as the kê is divided new stoves must be constructed. The division of a single kê into several new units is, in fact, most commonly referred to in Hsiachichou as "the separation of the stove." The stove is both the symbol and the locus of the kê, and it is inconceivable that two families should use the same stove. So strong is this identity of stove and family that great care must be taken lest the family suffer as a result of the character of the stove. The location of the stove, the timing of its construction, and its general condition are all thought [of as being intimately related to the fate of the kê. When one village family learned from a shaman that "there were ants and other things in their stove," they demolished the structure and threw the bricks into the river. One of their neighbors explained, "There was nothing else they could do. A family will never have peace if it does not have a good stove."

341 Although the new village house is usually built with fairly spacious
342 dimensions, no village family would be satisfied to see their home re-
596 main a simple rectangular structure. Their hope is always that their sons and grandsons will marry and remain a part of the parental household, and that as a result the house will be expanded to meet the needs of an expanded family. An explicit manifestation of this hope is to be seen in the design of the new house. In addition to the large entrance which leads into the kông-thiâ:, the front wall of the house will always include two smaller doors, one at each end of the house.

341 But when the building is new these doors are not used as entrances to
342 the house; in fact, they are usually closed with brick or mud, whatever
596 the original building material. They are only included in the design of the house because of the hope that eventually the house will be expanded with the addition of one or two wings of rooms. The vision which inspires Chinese domestic architecture is that of a large U shaped building housing many sons and grandsons and their wives and children.

A few of the older village houses stand in much the same condition today as they did the day they were completed. These houses are the homes of families whose fortunes have given them few male descendants and those of families whose sons and grandsons have had to leave the village in order to make a living. In the case of most of the older village homes, however, at least one and in some cases two wings have been added to the original building to create a large L or U shaped structure. Of 15 village houses of twenty years of age or more, 6 had at least one additional wing, 5 had reached the state of being balanced U shaped structures, and only 4 remained in their original rectangular shape. But while a builder's vision of the future of his house is thus often realized, these expanded homes seldom house the
592 harmonious extended family which inspired their construction. For
596 reasons which we will discuss in detail later, brothers will ordinarily divide their parental family within a few years after the younger brother's marriage, the result being that by the time the house reaches its full size the family has long since been split into a number of

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

633 Since much of its growth took place during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is
• 341 weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture,
197 studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind
633 high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and
363 all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed
[463] only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

633 Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential
361 luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of
369 commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of
633 poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton
444 goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The
[354] owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal
[262] dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depending upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and
[954] around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on
[855] the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling
633 voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles
[363] thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or
000

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

wife. He wants the security of a stable and permanent network of human relations.

The farm houses of Taiwan are symbolic of this attitude toward the family. In Taipei and in the larger market towns there have always been houses designed for rental income, houses for transients who may stay a month or ten years, but they are barren houses designed only for the present occupants and not looking toward the future. In the country, even today, when a man builds a house he follows the old pattern. He builds with a vision of housing under one roof a large and prosperous family of many generations. Farmers are rarely wealthy on Taiwan. Although they are just as likely as anyone else to try to implement their dreams, they do so with a shrewd practicality. Instead of hoarding gold or borrowing money to build the huge U-shaped structure that is to house generations as yet unborn, they build the base of their future, a strong rectangular building. At each end of the rectangle, however, there are indications of the ultimate design—an unnecessary door, a carefully made archway clumsily boarded over until the day it will open into a new wing housing the family of a son or a grandson. The rectangle becomes first an L and finally a U whose arms may be extended again and again.

That part of Peihotien that lies upstream is often referred to as "Brick House Place," a designation that has survived from the building of the first all-brick house. Before that, houses were built of mud over bamboo wattling and roofed with rice thatch. A family who could tear down one of their mud walls and replace it with strong red bricks showed a sign of prosperity; their continuing good fortune could be seen in the replacement of another wall a few years later. Now only unimportant buildings like pig pens or storage rooms have mud walls and all of the thatch has been replaced with shining tile roofs. There are mud houses left in the other villages of Hotien, but Peihotien exhibits its superiority in a rich display of red brick. Nowadays a new house begins in brick and tile.

The first step a family takes toward building a new house is to summon a geomancer. He is shown the family land and is expected to site the house in the position most favorable to the natural and supernatural phenomena. Evidently these variables are fairly uniform in a small area for nearly all of the houses of Peihotien face in the same direction, away from the river—sad from the point of view of Western aesthetics but undoubtedly well justified in terms of geomancy. Before